2t Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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346 by a large and sumptuous church, in which the first Mass was celebrated in 1722. The magnificence of the church is still present, although the original altars have been replaced by
[532] new ones. Exquisite tiles depicting the life of St. Anthony, to whom the church is dedicated, line the sides of the church. The floors are of marble, and the wooden ceilings are painted
[322] in oils. It is said that the marble and the painted ceilings were brought from Portugal. The woodwork in the choir loft and
[205] sacristy is beautiful hand-worked rosewood. The clock in the bell tower which rings the hour and half-hour is still the town timepiece, its sound reaching far out over the Bay. Under the marble floor, between the altar and the communion rail, are
[764] the tombs of the early families of Vila Recôncavo. The names inscribed on the tombs constitute a roster of families now scattered throughout the nation.

175 It is not known exactly when the Tertiary Order of Franciscans was first formed in Vila Recôncavo, but it too has left
792 its mark on the face of the town, for it constructed another large church and two-story building at the side of the convent.
346 The chronicler of the convent in the early 1900's wrote:

> Of the epoch of the formation of the Tertiary Order and the construction of the church and buildings nothing remains, not a document exists, with the exception of one book, consisting of the elections, offices, and resolutions of the Order. This book was begun in 1853 and ended in 1866. On the ceiling of the church appears the date 1751, in white paint, which seems to be of the original workmanship, and at the side of it can be seen in black paint "repaired in 1844." The lands of the Order are known only through the tradition of the people, since no document exists.[6]

If the date 1751 can be taken as the date of the construction of the church of the Tertiary Order, it can be assumed that the Order existed in Vila Recôncavo some time before this date, at least early in the 1700's. These additions to the convent were the last of the noble constructions in the town of Vila Recôncavo and took place at the end of the town's flourishing period. They were the last public expression of grandeur in the

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6. Author's translation.

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[Town Life]

following days to make new supplies. On the return trip she brings wheat flour, peanuts, potatoes, and whatever is not available in Vila Recôncavo, as special orders (encomendas) for people in the town, who pay the price of the article plus a small percentage for her trouble in doing the shopping.

The people of Group 3 do most of their own labor; the men follow their trade while their womenfolk do the housework, care for the children, fetch water and firewood, and do their own laundry. This group also uses the batalhão for house building and repairing, although many employ the services of a carpenter to do the woodwork or a bricklayer to make a foundation, in contrast to the people of the preceding group, whose houses are usually built with a minimum of crude woodwork and without masonry foundations. The majority of men in this group, the fishermen, live in the lower part of town, in the areas known as Boqueirão, Caquende, and Cortume (see map of town). The others are scattered throughout the town, up the hill in back of the area of sobrados, and on the side of the hill sloping down to the beach. The fishermen have their own chapel built near the beach, which they support with the tithe (dizimo), a tenth of their earnings. The people in the fishing group seldom go up the hill to the older part of town, feeling that they do not belong there.

A few words need to be said about Group 4, which consists of thirty-one people who do not fit into the other three groups. Eleven of them, who listed themselves as unemployed, are unskilled persons, without a trade, and without a patron or service employment skill. For the most part they are women, and although an examination of the census data shows that they have no visible means of support, they do engage in subsistence activities such as carrying water, cutting spits for xangó, making dendê palm oil, or making fish nets, but not on a regular contract basis. Since they engage in a variety of small independent activities and work for different people at different times, they listed themselves as unemployed in the sense of being without a regular occupation.

Nine people in Group 4 lived in the town at the time of the census but worked at the Usina São Pedro. Three men worked on the sugar plantation nearest town, preferring to live in town rather than on the plantation, since the trip back and forth is so short. And, finally, the group includes eight people who were employed by the Institute of Vila Recôncavo as nurses, pharmacists, bookkeeper, and bartender. These people

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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ter them any others who want to receive it. Through the year few people from the rural area go to hear Mass in town, unless they have asked for a special service in honor of their patron saint or in the memory of a dead relative. They usually wait for the priest's visit to their own locality. The same is true of weddings and baptisms, which are often held up pending the arrival of the priest.

In case of death, the corpse is buried within twenty-four hours. Each parish has its own cemetery, and the relatives and friends of the dead carry the coffin there for burial. In the parish of Vila Recôncavo, the cemetery lies just outside the town. People from this parish, as well as those from the town itself, take the coffin to the convent before burial to be blessed, for there is always a priest there. Then they carry the coffin to the cemetery. In the other parishes the dead are buried without the benefit of a blessing, which will however take place on the second of November, when priests try to visit each cemetery and bless all the dead.

The many duties which have fallen upon the Franciscans have made it almost impossible for them to continue the type of life prescribed for those who enter an order. It is very difficult for them to attend the retreats to which they should go; there is little or no time for them to study or contemplate, or to teach, for they have been faced with the discouraging reality of trying to keep religion alive in a population too large and scattered for proper contact to be maintained. In 1941 Vila Recôncavo was described by the provincial canonical visitors as "one of the greatest crosses of our Province, because of the five decadent parishes entrusted to it."[2] The same book speaks constantly of the "deplorable indifference" and "religious coldness" of the people of Vila Recôncavo. In 1949 the statistics of religious activities were as follows: 333 baptisms (184 legitimate and 149 illegitimate children), 27 weddings, 200 First Communions, 8,292 general Communions, and 80 Communions for sick people.

As of today there are no religious brotherhoods in Vila Recôncavo. The last to pass out of existence was the Brotherhood of the Most Sacred Sacrament, which was closed upon the death of its treasurer early in this century. The Third Order of Franciscans, formally closed in 1902, was reopened in

2. Livro de cronica do convento, Vila Recôncavo (MS in Franciscan Convent, Vila Recôncavo).

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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As the mulatto rose in class, he came to occupy something analogous to a middle position distinct from either that of the dominant European or that of the subject African. In the colonial period, "to appease the repugnance felt by whites at being put on the same level with mulattoes,"[14] the latter were segregated for military duty. Thus separate battalions were organized at Bahia and elsewhere for whites, for *pardos*,[15] and for *pretos*.[16] Similarly, separate church organizations arose for *pardos* (Palma, Guadaloupe, Boqueirão) as well as for *pretos*.[17]

In the Brazilian rural society of the colonial period Oliveira Vianna identifies three distinct social strata: the predominantly white *senhores* of the upper rank, the predominantly mixed-blood free artisans, *rendeiros*, and petty

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and women of the Brazilian aristocracy who were blessed with small feet. The difficulties of the blacks, even when serving as pages, to adjust themselves to this new European and aristocratic style so ill adapted to their large and flat feet, can be easily understood. The mulattoes, on the other hand, who possessed smaller feet, well formed according to the European standard, could adapt themselves more readily to a practice which Handelmann observed constituted in nineteenth-century Brazil one of the marks of class distinction" (Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, pp. 329–30).

[14] Vianna, *op. cit.*, p. 164; see also his *Populaçoes meridionaes do Brasil* (3d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 140.

[15] In Bahia, the Regimento dos Pardos. See Luiz dos Santos Vilhena, *Cartas*, edited and annotated by Braz do Amaral (2 vols.; Bahia, 1922), pp. 253–54.

[16] In Bahia, as elsewhere, Os Henriques.

[17] In Bahia, Rosario de João Pereira, Barroquinha, Corpo Santo, Rosario "at the foot of the Pelourinho." Cf. also: "The cemetery for Africans was located next to the Misericordia Cemetery, as one can see from the map made of the city of Salvador and its suburbs by Carlos Augusto Weyll" (J. B. von Spix and C. F. P. von Martius, *Através da Bahia* [excerpts from the larger work, *Reise in Brasilien* (3 vols.; München, 1823–31)], trans. Pirajá da Silva and Paulo Wolf [3d ed.; São Paulo, 1938], pp. 141–42 [translators' note]).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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songs are ordinarily composed of simple sentences in the minor key, and the scale, which on importation from Africa is said to have consisted of only five intervals, now has seven.

Among the invocations sung to the various *orixás* is that given by a former *ogan* of the *candomblé* of Gantois:

[539]

Egbêji mori ô ri, okorin-kam
Orolu mori ô ri, okorin-kam
(Powerful One, I know thee as the first man)

Ôkum-kum biri-biri
Ajá lê mori ô korin-kam
(Even in the dark I can see thou art powerful)

A orêrê aiê, orixá loman,
Iá, ochê Egbêji orêrê, aiê
(In the whole world, nothing is hidden from the Great-One)[11]

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At the burial of a cult member the songs and musical instruments of the *candomblé* ceremonies are now seldom used as, it is said, they formerly were. But the casket is carried by *ogans*, and the *filhas*, in *bahiana* costume, accompany the procession. Since it is still believed that the *orixá* of the departed may at this time seek a new *cavalo*, no pregnant woman attends. "Possession," however, may and does occur. Thus, at the burial of an elderly Negro woman, a *filha* of Ogun from the *candomblé* of Engenho Velho, who had been "made" for thirty-three years and was widely known and respected for her knowledge of African ritual, two *filhas de santo* were "seized" as the procession wound its way up the steep ascent to Quinta dos Lazaros Cemetery, and another later as the crypt was being sealed. In each case "possession" began with light weeping which soon increased to loud sobbing, the individual meanwhile pressing her hands

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[11] Manoel Querino, *Costumes africanos no Brasil* (Rio, 1938), p. 108.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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forcefully to her head, one in front and one in back, as if in great pain. Knees then gave way and shoulders and back muscles began to vibrate violently. In one case, the spine stiffened and, with the exception of the shoulder muscles which continued a rapid quivering, the entire body became rigid, with arms and legs stretched out at full length. Meanwhile, the *filha* whimpered, cried, or shrieked aloud.

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To reach the *seita* of a well-known *mãe de santo*, one takes a Calçada car out of the city, past orange groves and fields of tall forage grass, to the Matadouro, where he alights and begins to climb a steep winding road lined with the *nativo* plant (said to be native to Africa) and *uricuri* and coconut palms, until, after more than a mile of trudging, he comes out onto a high ridge overlooking a green valley, where he can see, far in the distance, the houses of the city. A cool breeze blows in from the sea and tempers the heat of the tropical sun. In a grove of scattered palm trees nestle several houses, some of which are neatly whitewashed and others tinted pink, yellow, or blue.

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The *mãe de santo* is called Anninha. She is a tall regal-appearing black, whose slightest gesture is immediately obeyed by members of her *seita*. She owns considerable property and is said to be otherwise quite well to do. She boasts, proudly, "Sou filha de dois Africanos, graças a Deus" ("I am the daughter of two Africans, thank God"). Queito she learned to speak, she says, from her parents; Nagô she acquired "in the *seita*." She is illiterate, but of her learning in the ritual and belief of the African cult an *ogan* says, with pride, "She knows African things better than anyone I know in Bahia." Intelligent, quick-witted, agile in debate, she is one of the most widely respected and revered leaders of the Afro-Brazilian world.

[SALVADOR]

/22 cont./

The generally gentle and humane treatment that the owners reserved for their slaves and the efforts made by the Catholic clergy, from the beginning of the slave trade, to try to incorporate the /23/ Africans into the Catholic religion played an important role in the establishment of good relations between races in Bahia as throughout Brazil. Contrary to what occurred in the other colonial nations, where the aborigines and the imported slaves were kept in a state of segregation, like unassimilable "savages," in Brazil the natives and the Blacks were baptized, catechized, and admitted into the Church as men. Thus, numerous slaves, baptized Negroes, were no longer considered "beasts" and became "Christians," with the same title as the European colonists, having to endure neither hostility nor religious discrimination. They were taught the Christian doctrine, and the preachers endeavored to speak to them in their languages, chiefly in nagô, which had become a sort of lingua franca in which the Africans of different origins were able to understand one another. They intermarried; their marriage having been consecrated by the Church, this protected them when their masters intended to separate the spouses or sell one of the partners; they received the sacraments; they acted as witnesses in religious proceedings and participated as acolytes in religious ceremonies; they marched in the processions, carrying the standards and emblems of their brotherhoods; they were buried in the Christian cemeteries, the owners of slaves being obliged to call the priest in time to assist the dying. No one pretends by that to claim that their lives were free from suffering or that the Negroes were thus completely integrated in Catholicism. The clergy, the owners, and the civil authorities always allowed them some freedom concerning certain proceedings of their pagan cults and never forced them to embrace the official religion. They likewise permitted them to amuse themselves in their way by dances, songs, ceremonies (batuques), banquets in the manner of those of their countries of origin. From that comes this Catholicism somewhat mixed with fetishist beliefs and practices that constitutes the religion of a large part of the colored people of Bahia (1).

1. Roger Bastide, "Religion and the Church in